

Message Text

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 06590 032145Z
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S E C R E T GENEVA 6590

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E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PARM
SUBJ: COMMENTS ON PLENARY MEETING, AUGUST 3, 1977 (SALT TWO-1319)

1. AT AUGUST 3 PLENARY, SEMENOV MADE STATEMENT ON MOBILE ICBMS AND ON DUAL-CAPABL LAUNCHERS. HE TABLED FOLLOWING LANGUAGE FOR PROTOCOL: "EACH PARTY UNDERTAKES NOT TO TEST OR TO DEPLOY MOBILE ICBM LAUNCHERS, OR MISSILES FOR SUCH LAUNCHERS." HE ASSERTED THAT A PROTOCOL WHICH PROHIBITED ONLY LAUNCHER DEPLOYMENT WHILE ALLOWING TESTING OF LAUNCHERS AND MISSILES WOULD ALLOW AN "INCREASE OF POTENTIAL" IN MOBILES. HE CLAIMED THAT IT WAS CONTRADICTORY TO INCLUDE LANGUAGE ON MOBILES IN TREATY AND BAN MOBILES IN PROTOCOL. CONCERNING DUAL CAPABILITY, HE REPEATED USUAL ARGUMENTS THAT SS-20 LAUNCHER DEVELOPED ONLY FOR MEDIUM-RANGE MISSILES. ONLY NEW ELEMENT WAS STATEMENT THAT SS-20 LAUNCHERS WERE NOT TESTED AT TYURA-TAM AND PLESETSK ICBM TEST RANGES, AND THAT IT THUS "FOLLOWED" THAT THERE WAS NO ASSOCIATION BETWEEN SS-20 LAUNCHER AND ICBM.

2. MY STATEMENT PROPOSED THAT SOVIETS AGREE TO A BAN THROUGH 1985 ON FURTHER TESTING AND DEPLOYMENT OF SS-16 AND A BAN ON ALL
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SECRET

PAGE 02 GENEVA 06590 032145Z

PRODUCTION OF SS-16 COMPONENTS. I EMPHASIZED U.S. VIEW THAT DUAL-CAPABLE QUESTION REMAINS DISTINCT FROM GENERAL QUESTION OF MOBILE ICBM LAUNCHERS. I REBUTTED SOVIET CLAIMS THAT THEY HAD DEMONSTRATED THAT SS-20 LAUNCHER COULD NOT LAUNCH SS-16, SAID THAT SITUATION WAS FURTHER COMPLICATED BY SOVIET EFFORTS TO CONCEAL ASSOCIATION OF SS-16S WITH THEIR LAUNCHERS, AND NOTED SOVIET FAILURE TO RESPOND TO U.S. INVITATION FOR VERIFIABLE

ARRANGEMENTS TO ASSURE THAT SS-20 LAUNCHER CANNOT ALSO LAUNCH ICBMS.

3. IN BILATERAL, SEMENOV REPEATED SOVIET RATIONALE ON MOBILE ISSUE. HE CHARACTERIZED BAN ON DEPLOYMENT ALONE AS "HALFHEARTED" AND "SUPERFICIAL." HE CONTENDED THAT WHOLE POINT OF INCLUDING MOBILES IN PROTOCOL WAS TO DEAL WITH THEM ON INTERIM BASIS, THUS REQUIRING REMOVAL OF ALL REFERENCES TO MOBILES FROM AGREEMENT THROUGH 1985. IN RESPONSE TO MY ARGUMENT THAT OMISSION OF MOBILES FROM 1985 AGREEMENT CREATED RISK OF LETTING THEM GO FREE AFTER 3 YEARS, SEMENOV EMPHASIZED THAT ARTICLE II.1 IS "UNIVERSAL IN ITS APPLICATION" AND "COVERS THE PROBLEM," STRONGLY IMPLYING THAT IF PROVISIONS ON MOBILES LAPSED WITH PROTOCOL, THEY WOULD BE COUNTED AS WELL AS PERMITTED UNDER BASIC AGREEMENT.

4. IN ROWNY/BELETSKY BILATERLA, BELETSKY ARGUED THAT SOVIET POSITION "SOLVED" SS-16/SS-20 PROBLEM. HE ARGUED FOR A BAN ON TESTING MOBILE ICBMS IN PROTOCOL ON BASIS THAT U.S. WOULD CLAIM ANY NEW SOVIET MOBILE ICBM ALSO COMPATIBLE WITH SS-20 LAUNCHER. BELETSKY ALSO RAISED QUESTION OF WHETHER PROTOCOL WAS FOR 3-YEAR PERIOD FROM EFFECTIVE DATE OF AGREEMENT, OR UNTIL OCTOBER 1980 REGARDLESS OF EFFECTIVE DATE (SEMENOV RAISED SIMILAR POINT WITH EARLE). ROWNY ARGUED IN FAVOR OF END-DATE IN ORDER TO HOLD TECHNOLOGICAL IMPROVEMENTS IN ABEYANCE.

5. IN G. JOHNSON/SHCHUKIN BILATERLA, SHCHUKIN WELCOMED U.S. SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 GENEVA 06590 032145Z

PLENARY PROPOSAL FOR BAN ON FURTHER TESTING, DEPLOYMENT AND PRODUCTION OF COMPONENTS FOR SS-16 AS SOLUTION TO SS-20 LAUNCHER PROBLEM. HE ALSO IMPLIED THAT A BAN ON PRODUCTION OF COMPONENTS WOULD NOT BE A PROBLEM FOR SOVIETS.

6. IN A. JOHNSON/BEKETOV-JOURAVLEV BILATERAL, BEKETOV SAID THAT A BROAD SOLUTION TO THE U.S. PROBLEM OF SS-20 LAUNCHER WAS EMBODIED IN SEMENOV'S PLENARY STATEMENT. HE CONTENDED THAT A BAN ON MOBILE ICBMS AND THEIR LAUNCHERS DURING PERIOD OF PROTOCOL WOULD INCLUDE BAN ON TESTING AND DEPLOYMENT OF SS-16 AND ITS LAUNCHER. WHEN ASKED ABOUT DEPLOYMENT OF SS-16 IN FIXED SILOS, JOURAVLEV SAID SUCH DEPLOYMENT WOULD REQUIRE CONVERSION OF EXISTING SILOS, BUT THAT IN ANY CASE, SINCE SS-16 HAD A MOBILE LAUNCHER, IT WOULD BE BANNED. EARLE

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